1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

(S. *candil*), the candle, and the alcohol tin (S. *bote*) in which water is carried and stored. Two of these tins are yoked together and swung over the shoulder. In this device (S. *aguantador*), of course European in character, water is hauled by the men. A woman carries only a single tin.

A domestic shrine is found in most houses. This may be no more than a printed or painted picture of a saint, but more commonly it is a carved and painted wooden figure, usually a Virgin or a Christ. This may be only a few inches high, or as much as six feet. Most are from early Colonial times. In front of this figure an incense burner (S. *sahumeria;* N. *popochcomitl*) is placed. This is of black glazed pottery. In it copal gum is burned. Flowers are also placed before the figure, in bottles or vases, and pictures of other saints are hung near the image. This shrine is the center of domestic worship and ritual. Candles are burned before it on feast days; here the infant Christ is "put to bed" on Christmas Eve and taken up on Candlemas; before this image are placed gifts brought on birthdays or those brought by a boy's parents during the negotiations leading to a marriage with a daughter of the house.

Any property not in use is kept on plain wooden shelves or in covered wooden chests. Extra clothing is hung on nails. Walls are frequently decorated with pictures cut from newspapers, with sentimental picture postcards, and with little clay toys and ornamental dishes brought from other villages.

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

621 mains in the old *barrio* carries on after his father's death the membership in the old *barrio* and fulfils the pledge to that *santo*, while the younger son takes up membership in another *barrio*. It will be observed that there is a tendency for the men within a *barrio* to be [591] related rather than the women, because in most cases a married son brings his wife to live in his father's house, or in a new house built on or near the same house site, while daughters marry and often go to live in other *barrios*. The *barrio* probably in no way af- [582] fects the choice of spouse; no influences on such choice appear except influences of propinquity and temperamental preference.

621 794 782 Membership in the *barrio* is attested by the important fact of payment of the offering (S. *limosna*; N. *huentli*) at the time of the *fiesta* of the *santo* of the *barrio*, and it is so perpetuated in the cases of individuals belonging to *barrios* other than those in which they live. Thus the La Santísima families in Los Reyes pay the offering when the *fiesta* of La Santísima takes place. They may also pay the offering for the *fiesta* of Los Reyes, but this is recognized as a later obligation and does not cancel membership in the *barrio* of La Santísima. By this same ceremonial payment the fact that the people living in the Santa Cruz enclave within San Miguel belong to Santa Cruz is annually revived at the *fiesta* of Santa Cruz. The offering is thought of as a perpetual pledge to the *santo*, irrevocable, and binding on a man's family after his death. The money so paid is expended for one or both

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

of two purposes: the candles burned before the *santo* on the day of the *fiesta*, and the tower of fireworks (*castillo*) burned in the atrium of the church on that occasion. The payment for each of these purposes, of the year's instalment of the perpetual pledge, is an occasion attended by solemnizing ritual, both acted and spoken. The ceremonies take place at the houses of the *mayordomos* of the candles and of the *castillo*, and the occasions are known respectively as the *cerahpa* and the *castiyohpa*.[1]

As has already been indicated in a previous chapter, the *ejidos* of Tepoztlán are not, as were the *altepetlalli* of the pre-Columbian town, divided into sections among the *barrios*. The pastures and wood lots belonging to the town are used in common by all the *pueblo* (and by the seven smaller villages) without regard to *barrio* membership. The private agricultural fields are not grouped according to *barrios*. A resident of San Miguel may own a *milpa* over near Santa Cruz at the other side of town, although as a matter of fact *milpas* are, naturally, more often than not situated near the owner's dwelling.

But each *barrio* owns lands the produce of which goes to the support of the chapel of the *barrio*. Or, as the Tepoztecans would put it, the produce goes to the support of the *santo*. The lands are referred to as *imimil to santo*, "the *milpas* of our *santo*." These are the only truly communal lands of Tepoztlán. Conform-

[1] This ritual is briefly described on p. 100, and more fully in Redfield, art., "The Cerahpa and the Castiyohpa in Tepoztlan."

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

able with law, the legal title to these lands is held by an individual, but he holds in trust for the *santo*. His interest in the land is no greater than that of any other member of the *barrio*. The lands are sowed, tended, and harvested in common by the men of the *barrio*, under the direction of the *mayordomo* of the *santo*, and the crop, when sold, goes to the upkeep of the chapel—for candles, curtains for the altars, etc. Most of the lands so communally owned by the *barrios* are *milpas* on which maize is grown. But San Miguel also owns a grove of *chirimoyas*, and San Pedro owns a grove of cedars. (Cedar boughs, now as in pre-Columbian times, are much used in decorating altars and are subject to other religious and magical uses.) In addition, certain of the *barrios*, notably San Miguel, own bulls which are used for *toros*, a sort of rustic bullfight sometimes held on the occasion of the *fiesta* of the *santo*. During the rest of the year the bulls are loaned out to members of the *barrio* for upkeep.[1]

The *barrio* is plainly recognizable as the pre-Columbian *calpolli*. From the accounts[2] we have of the social organization of Tenochtitlan (Mexico City) and of Texcoco, it appears that each *pueblo* in the Nahua area was divided into units which bore this name. These units were originally, it has been supposed,[3]

[1] The communal ownership of these bulls is not fully attested. During the year of the writer's stay San Miguel lent its bulls to Los Reyes at the time of the *fiesta* of the latter *barrio;* Los Reyes had none of its own, or too few.

[2] See T. T. Waterman, *Bandelier's Contribution to the Study of Ancient Mexican Social Organization.*

[3] *Ibid.* Spinden, *Ancient Civilizations of Mexico and Central America*, p. 190, contra.

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

lamps which are hung in the street outside the chapel, and here the youths of the *barrio* come in the evening to talk, gamble, or listen to songs. But it is at the time of the annual *fiesta* that the collective importance of the *barrio* members reaches its highest importance, and the chapel becomes the great focus of interest for the entire *pueblo* and even for neighboring villages. The decoration of the chapel, the ceremonial bringing of the candles, the burning of the candles, the erection and burning of the *castillo*, the preparation and consumption of the festal dishes, the playing of the ancient flute or the *teponaztli* on the roof of the chapel, one or more sacred dances and sometimes *toros*—all constitute a program of ritual and entertainment which occupies from one to seven days. Although members of other *barrios* take part in the entertainment, the *barrio* whose *santo* is celebrated acts as host, and its members very much feel their collective importance.

The *santo* is the symbol of the collective spirit of the *barrio*. It is not uncommon for an individual to boast of the superior miraculousness of the *santo* of his *barrio*: "Our *barrio* is the most important because our image is the most miraculous." San Salvador protected the people of Santa Cruz during the revolution; San Sebastian appears in dreams to the people of his *barrio*, and offers them advice, etc.

There is, therefore, a morale, an *esprit de corps*, inhering in the *barrio*, embodied in the *santo* and occasionally expressed as rivalry. Every exertion must

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

ramada in preparation for the *fiesta* of that *barrio*. The atrium and the floor of the church are swept, and the altars decorated with flowers and tissue-paper garlands. The figures of the Three Kings, usually a triplet of *santos* at the altar, are placed so that candles may be burned separately to each. A tissue-paper lantern, in the form of a clock, is hung above the door of the chapel.

January 5.—This is the day before the *fiesta* of Los Reyes. At night the chapel is open and women of the *barrio* come to pray. The men of the *barrio* march to the chapel with the rockets to be set off for the *fiesta*, and then go to the house of the *mayordomo* to enjoy the usual bottle of alcohol. At about ten o'clock *Los Pastores*, the boys who come with staffs of bells to sing traditional songs on Christmas Eve, dance to the chapel of Los Reyes and there dance and sing before the Magi. The women of the *barrio* are up most of the night grinding corn and squash seeds for the *tamales* to be eaten the next day. The *chirimía* plays on the roof of the chapel.

January 6.—On the day of the *fiesta* the *barrio* of Los Reyes entertains friends from other *barrios* and other villages. Everyone puts on his best clothes. In the morning women come to the chapel to burn candles before the *santos* and to pray. After nightfall a small *castillo*, in the form of a bull, is burned in the atrium of the chapel. The *mayordomos* for next year's *fiesta* are chosen at a meeting just outside the chapel.

January 7.—The *chirimía*, now playing at the

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

January 14.—The *fiesta* of the village of Santa Catarina de Zacatepec also falls on January 12, but because it is an important *fiesta* that is attended by people from many villages it is generally postponed until the following Sunday. In such a case candles are also burned before the *santo* on the proper day, which is the "day of the *santo*," while the Sunday on which the celebration is held and the festal dishes eaten is called the "*fiesta* of the *mole*."

Now people are coming to Tepoztlán from Santa Catarina to invite friends to come on Sunday and eat *mole verde* with them. The *cohetero* is building the *castillos*, and the *mayordomos* are superintending the cleaning and decorating of the chapel.

January 16 (*about*).—On the day of the *fiesta* the roads to Santa Catarina are filled with people traveling on foot. They come from Tepoztlán, Cuernavaca, and Yautepec, and from the little villages of San Juan, San Andres, Santiago, Santo Domingo, Amatlán, and Ixcatepec. Everyone wears his best clothes. It is a very important *fiesta;* there will be two *castillos* and three groups of *Apaches*. The yard of the church is soon filled with waiting people. The devout first enter the chapel to offer prayer or to burn a candle. There are men just outside the churchyard gate digging a hole for the pole of the *castillo*.

Before the morning is old *Los Apaches* come from Jalatlaco in the state of Mexico. Like all religious dancers, they come in fulfilment of a pledge to the *santo;* this vow is annually renewed, and each year on

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

the day of the *fiesta* they come to dance before the *santo*. They march up to the chapel and kneel before the altar. Then they dance and sing inside the chapel. They wear tall, plumed headdresses, embroidered with beads and small mirrors, pink or red blouses, short red skirts with bead and shell pendants, colored stockings, and sandals. Some are women; most are men, who wear long false hair. They dance to mandolins made of armadillo shell. Their leaders carry banners bearing the name of their organization and effigies of *santos*. After they have paid their respects to the *santo* in the church, they come outside and, forming a circle, begin to dance in the atrium. The step is varied from time to time, but the dancers keep their respective places in the circle. Occasionally they sing. The leader sings the verses, and all join in the chorus:

¡Ay! Jesús!
Solo Jesús
Quiso morir en la cruz.

The *cuadrillos* of *Apaches* from San Juan and from Santiago arrive together, accompanied by a band of musicians. They march into the church to kneel before the *santo*, before beginning to dance on the other side of the atrium. The dancing keeps up all morning.

While they are dancing the large candles to be burned before the *santo* are brought in a procession from the house of the *mayordomo* of the candles. Men carry them swung on poles. In front go women carrying baskets of flowers and braziers of burning copal

li:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

incense; behind follow musicians. As they come to the church rockets are discharged.

Then a group of men go to the house of the *mayordomo* of the *castillo* to fetch the *castillo*. This is the occasion for a social half-hour with a bottle furnished by the *mayordomo*. The sections of the *castillo* are brought to the church, also to the sound of rockets, and bound to the pole. The raising of the pole requires a great deal of heaving and shouting; everyone comes to watch, and the event furnishes a climax to the morning. The dancers march off to eat *mole verde* and *tamales* in the houses of the *mayordomos*, and people disperse to share the festal dinner with friends or to buy food from vendors.

At about three o'clock the *castillo* is set off. After dark a *castillo de la noche* is burned. This is the last event, and most people go home.

January 19.—This is the day before the *fiesta* of the *barrio* of San Sebastian. The *chirimía* plays on the roof of the chapel.

Although there are only sixteen houses in the *barrio*, the *fiesta* is an important one, and therefore the "*fiesta* of the *mole*" is commonly postponed until the following Sunday. Including the *cerahpa* and the *castiyohpa*, the *fiesta* may thus last more than a week.

January 20.—This is the day of the *fiesta*. The *chirimía* continues to play. The chapel is open and candles burn before the *santo*.

Saturday, January 23 (about).—In the evening a *castillo de la noche* is burned. A load of *pulque* for the

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

the afternoon) she brings the clothes. Candles are lit before the *crèche* and burning copal is set before it. The godfather brings rockets, and often a bottle of wine. The rockets are discharged outside the house while the godmother dresses the image. Everyone is given a drink of wine. The image is placed on a tray and passed around for everyone to kiss. Then follows the dinner traditional for birthdays and *sacamisas:* rice, *mole poblano*, and beans.

February 5.—Today is the anniversary of the signing of the constitution. But this is a national patriotic *fiesta* and of little importance in Tepoztlán. The schoolmaster discharges his obligation toward the school children by parading them with flags and perhaps making to them a patriotic speech. There may be music by some orchestra from the valley in the kiosk in the *plaza*. But most people in Tepoztlán have no notion of what day it is, and observe it not at all.

The dry season is now well advanced. The foliage has lost much of its brilliance, and the silk-cotton trees have shed all their leaves. The paths and streets are thick with dust now, and the pigs gather around the public washing stones where puddles of water may still be found. Occasionally great winds enter the valley and rage around the high-walled basin, clouding the contours of the hills and pulling tiles from off roofs. Then people stay in their houses and shut the doors to protect themselves from the dust.

There is nothing to be done in the *milpas*. The coffee is all picked and dried. There are some who

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

ambition to reduce unbroken ground begin now to clear the brush and weeds from *claculoles*.[1] During this otherwise-idle season men repair houses, walls, roads, fountains. Everywhere around the village householders are carrying stones to replace those fallen from broken walls, or are putting new tiles on roofs. Groups of men, working co-operatively, rebuild broken washing stones, relay stones in the streets, or build new water tanks on street corners.

During this period fairs are held in some of the larger villages in Morelos, and these draw some from Tepoztlán who make the journey usually on foot, occasionally in part by train. The dates of the fairs are given according to the number of Fridays preceding Holy Week. Thus, "the first Friday" is the fair of Chalma and also that of Xiutepec; "the second Friday," that of Tepalzingo. Then follow the fairs of Tlayacapan and Mazatepec. Some men make the rounds of all these fairs.

Palm Sunday, El Domingo de Ramos.—On this day people bring palm, laurel, and cedar to the church to be blessed.

Holy Tuesday,[2] *Martes Santo.*—Men assist the *mayordomos* to decorate the church, to dress the images, and to prepare the candles for Holy Week. A table is laid in the yard of the Templo Mayor, and in

[1] *Tlacololli:* pieces of unbroken land on mountain slopes first reduced to tillage by clearing. They are allotted out of the communal *ejidos*.

[2] Frances Toor (*Mexican Folkways*) says Thursday, but this is probably an error. The old custom was to build a prison for Christ, she says, and imprison the image all night.

l:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

the afternoon a dinner is served there to twelve of the older men. This symbolizes the Last Supper. A thirteenth chair is left vacant. The Lenten meal is eaten: fish, rice, and sometimes lentils and the dish known as *revoltijo*.[1]

Wednesday.—Today and Thursday and Friday and on Saturday morning only absolutely necessary work is done. No social entertainment is held, no rocket is discharged. The men do not go to fetch wood from the mountains; the public washing-stones are deserted. The women do only the unavoidable grinding and cooking. People try to have enough water hauled by Tuesday night to last until Saturday. The bells are not rung in the church towers; instead, the *matraca*, a huge wooden rattle, is sounded.

Thursday.—The altars in the church are decorated with laurel and with cedar. On each lie rows of oranges and *toronjos* (the shaddock), with little squares of gold and silver paper pasted on them.[2] An image (El Señor de Santo Entierro) is displayed in a glass-and-gilt coffin. A man sits at the entrance of the church to collect offerings (which are occasional and not made as perpetual pledges) for the crown and clothing of this image. In the afternoon, if the priest is there, he washes the feet of the Disciples. Many

[1] A seasoned stew of shrimps and nopal (cactus).

[2] The laurel and cedar are given away the following Monday. They are used to stop storms, particularly hailstorms. When a storm approaches, people put one of these sacred boughs on the fire and the storm recedes. Frances Toor (*op. cit.*, p. 54) says they are also hung up at doors and windows to keep out evil spirits. The oranges and shaddocks are blessed by the priest and sold; the peel is used for various remedies.

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

women come to pray and burn candles, and some bring garlands of *flor de chicaltzo* or *cacaloxochitl*[1] to hang on the candles. 796* 782

Some of the chapels are open, and special images are displayed for veneration. In the chapel of Santa Cruz the *mayordomo* dresses the image known as El Señor de Los Azotes. [794] [778]

Good Friday.[2]—All the ordinary images and the large Christ at the central altar are covered with purple curtains. At one side of the church three special images are exhibited: a Christ lying beneath a purple shroud,[3] a Christ bearing the cross,[4] a Mary dressed in black.[5] All morning people come to pray, to burn candles, and to set incense-burners before these images.[6] A little girl dressed in white with a white crown sits before the recumbent Christ, tending the incense-burner. Among the crowd of kneeling women are four young girls dressed all in black, with their hair dressed in many tight curls, and wearing black crowns. These are the *anxeltin tenapalohuatonantzin* ("angels who carry the Virgin"). [778]

[824]

[1] *Plumeria tricolor* Ruiz and Pavon.

[2] Frances Toor says that when the priest is there on Friday morning he performs a ceremony known as the "adoration of the cross." He crawls on his knees between two rows of men to kiss the cross, followed by women and children.

[3] El Señor de Santo Entierro.

[4] Tres Caidos.

[5] La Virgen Dolorosa.

[6] The first two of these images have each their special *mayordomos*. The Virgen Dolorosa is served by four elderly women, the *madres mayolas*. These (and probably also the two *mayordomos*) serve for life. The *madres mayolas* select each year the four *anxeltin*. [794]

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

*796 [794] In the morning the *mayordomo* of the Santo Entierro comes to the church with the men and boys whom he has asked to help him. Before the central altar they build a wooden platform covered with green boughs, and on it they erect four green trees. This is Calvary. A cross is laid ready. They also clean the gilt-and-glass coffin and place it on a litter near the platform. [794] [264] [262] Then they go to the house of the *mayordomo* for a meal which includes the Lenten dishes: fish, *guasoncle*,[1] sage tea, and lentils or lima beans.

At three in the afternoon the rattle sounds from the [782] roof of the church, which soon fills with people. After prayers the image of the Santo Entierro is borne to the front of the church and bound to the cross. Silver nails are inserted in the hands, and a silver crown of thorns is placed on the head. The cross is raised on Calvary. The *anxeltin* carry the figure of the Virgin up the aisle; it is placed at the foot of the cross. The [782] tall candles are placed beneath the images; copal is burned before them. Each woman worshiper kneeling [533] on the floor lights a candle. Musicians play a dirge. At about five o'clock in the evening the image is lowered from the cross and ceremonially washed with cotton. Then it is placed in the glass-walled coffin and borne in a procession around the atrium of the church. The procession moves slowly between two rows of women carrying lighted candles. While the same mu- [533] sic plays in the procession, a man with a small drum and another with a metal flute stand in one corner of

[1] A flat fried cake of eggs, cheese, tomatoes, and fat.

l:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

the atrium and play quite different music—a single minor strain, over and over. [796* 533]

Holy Saturday, Sabado de Gloria.—When the priest is here, he blesses the water and the fire and then holds mass. Three candles are lighted on the water tank in the churchyard; he blesses the water while flowers are thrown into it. A new fire is kindled with flint and steel. People come with coals to kindle and carry home to light incense with. During mass Christ rises; the curtains are pulled down from the altars and the bells ring, not only in the Templo Mayor but also in the chapels. Rockets are discharged. Some eat meat that afternoon; others wait until Sunday. [372] [782] [541] [262]

Easter Sunday, Domingo de Pascua.—Everyone eats meat *tamales* on this day. In the afternoon the *Chinelos* leap once more, and there is *brincando al gusto* (i.e., anyone who wishes joins the leaping). The men drink alcohol again, and many get drunk. [535] [273]

April 28.—This is the day before the *fiesta* of the *barrio* of San Pedro. The *chirimía* plays on the roof of that chapel. 796* 533

April 29.—This is the day of the *fiesta* of San Pedro. Besides the *chirimía*, the *teponaztli* (pre-Columbian wooden drum), owned by this *barrio*, is played on the roof of the chapel.[1] This is a fairly important *fiesta*. There are generally two religious dances: *Los Moros*, from the village of Santo Domingo, and *Los Danzantes*. *Los Danzantes* appear only at this *fiesta*. The little boys who dance it are drawn from all *barrios*, for 796* 535

[1] On the authority of only one informant.

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

It is still too early to work in the *milpas* in Tepoztlán, but up above, at the village of San Juan, the maize is already being planted. In Tepoztlán, men are hewing beams to make new plows or to repair old ones.

May 7.—The *chirimía* plays on the chapel of San Miguel, for tomorrow is a minor *fiesta* of that *barrio* (the apparition of St. Michael). But little is done to celebrate it, for it is overshadowed by the very important *fiesta* of the village of Ixcatepec, which begins on the same day.

May 8.—This is the first and most important day of the *fiesta* of Ixcatepec. Of all the *fiestas* of *santos*, that of Ixcatepec is probably the most important, although the village is a very small one. For its celebration an organization is formed to include all the *barrios* in the valley. One or two *mayordomos* of these *barrios* and villages undertake to supply the candles to be burned on one of the eight days of the *fiesta*. One of the days is in charge of a village not of the valley. An event of the first day of the *fiesta* is the arrival of the people of this village, Milpa Alta, in the state of Mexico. Every year they come, perhaps a hundred of them, carrying their *santo*.[1] They come to celebrate their *fiesta* with that of Ixcatepec because they regard their *santo* as the same as that of Ixcatepec. They march into the church and place their image on the altar beside the other.

The altar is lit with many candles decorated with

[1] But the year of this study, on account of public insecurity and the religious difficulties, they did not come.

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

paper rosettes, wax flowers, and garlands of *chicaltzo*. People come into the church to light a candle at the altar and to hang a garland on it. Just outside the church under the *enramada* stand two rows of little girls, dressed in white with white crowns and bearing staffs adorned with bells and ribbons. They are *Las Pastoras*, and they strike their staffs on the flags and sing a traditional song of praise to El Señor de Ixcatepec.

In a wide circle at one side of the *enramada*, *Los Apaches* from San Juan and from Santiago dance to their armadillo-shell guitars. At intervals they sing a song to *La Guadalupana*. There is the rattle of a small drum and the high note of a metal flute. *Los Moros* from Santo Domingo enter the churchyard gate. They come doing their little skipping step, to suggest men on horseback. The five Moors, with their helmets, flounced skirts, and black goggles, and the four Christians, in plumed hats and short skirts, weave back and forth in a double row, clashing *machetes* as they come. On the other side of the *enramada* they perform the acted and spoken drama of the struggle between the Moors and the Christians. This takes about five hours. Crowds of people watch them, and other crowds watch *Los Apaches* and *Las Pastoras*.

The sacred entertainment takes place within the churchyard; the secular entertainment is going on outside. There are several ballad-singers, each with his guitar and his attentive audience. Other men are gambling, squatted around the board. There are rows

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

October 31.[1]—Tomorrow will be *Todos Santos* ("All Saints"), when are commemorated those who died as children. On November 2 will be remembered those who died as adults. Tomorrow is the "day of the little ones." At eight o'clock in the evening in every home a candle is lighted for each dead child there remembered, and copal incense set burning. The candle is decorated with flowers and ribbons. Before the candles food is set. In the old days this was *itacates*, bean *tamales*, and *mole verde*. Now they offer bread, chocolate, and sometimes chicken or fish. At one side a bowl of milk and little cakes (*mamones*) are set for the very little ones. To keep away the Evil One a jar of holy water is put out, and a paternoster is said while the holy water is sprinkled with a flower taken from the offering.

Every utensil used must be new—baskets, spoons, the *petate*, the incense-burner.

Each dead child is called by name and the food is offered him, while plates and wooden spoons are laid out for each. The family keeps vigil all night.

November 1.—At six in the morning people come to the Templo Mayor and the priest asks a blessing for the child dead. Then all return to their homes and eat the offering of food laid out the night before.

In the evening the offering is laid out for the adult dead. Now the candles lighted are large ones, and instead of bright-colored flowers and ribbons, the can-

[1] This account of the Festival of the Dead is based on the accounts (which coincided) of but two informants.

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

dles are hung with black ribbons and decorated with flowers of black wax. A large incense-burner is lighted, and it and the candlesticks are black too. At eight o'clock food is laid out for each dead. As it is laid out, one says: "*Ye acitihuitz micailhuitl. Canite inchiaz nomimique*" ("Now comes the Day of the Dead. I will await my departed").[1]

They offer *tamales*, rice, *mamones*, chicken, oranges, lemons, bananas, melons, *mole verde*.

All night people keep awake. They pray, and call out the names of the dead. There are torches alight in the streets. The bells on the chapels strike the hours with double strokes. At four o'clock a group of men from each *barrio* go about asking food for the bell-ringers. People give a *tamal* and a dish of *mole*. At six in the morning the blessing is given, mass is said, and the offering is eaten.

November 7.—This is the *octava* of *los chiquitos*. Again the child dead are commemorated, as they were before, only now no meat and no *tamales* are offered, but only bread, milk, *chayotes*, green corn boiled in *tequezquite*, squash, fruit conserve, and *clascales* made in the shape of stars, birds, dogs.

November 8.—On the *octava* of *los grandes* the offering and the vigil are once more repeated. This time fruit and squash are offered to the dead, and *clascales* colored blue. At noon a procession goes to the cemetery, led by the priest. Music accompanies them.

[1] Said in the respectful form (now not generally in use): "*Ye acitihuitz micailhuitl. Canite inmechilia nomicamitzihuan.*"

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

Those who have dead to commemorate carry candles. These are lit on the graves. Prayers and responses are said there, and the party remains until eight in the evening. For the responses the priest is given money by all who celebrate their dead.

In December the rains have stopped and the air is very clear. The corn is ripe now, and the harvest begins. The roads are dusty from the feet of men, *burros*, and horses, going to the fields with empty sacks or returning to the village with loads of maize. In the fields groups of men move along the rows, removing the ears from the stalks. A broad needle of wood or iron is suspended from each wrist and used to slit the husks away from the ears. The husks and stalks are left as they were; later groups of women will collect the husks (*totomochtli*) and bind them into bundles to be used to wrap *tamales*. Still later the stalks will be cut down with the *machete* for fodder.

The men always work in groups; the owner of the field has asked them to help him—it is *cuatequitl*[1]—and then when their fields are ripe he will help them harvest. These are social occasions. Each group of men has *la mulita*, "the little mule"—a bottle of alcohol hidden under a pile of corn. The preparation of their dinner is also done co-operatively at the house of the owner of the field, and this is a social occasion for the women. They carry the dinner to the fields for the men. The owner of the field supplies the food and drink. But here the co-operative harvesting ends, for

[1] See p. 146.

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

the removal of the grain is done separately in each individual house, each member of the family taking a hand.

December 7.—The *chirimía* plays on the Templo Mayor; this, with the ringing of the bells, announces that tomorrow will be the *fiesta* of La Virgen Purísima.

December 8.—This is the day of the *fiesta* of La Virgen Purísima. The *chirimía* plays again. At dawn rockets are set off in the churchyard. This is not an important *fiesta*. There are special masses when the priest is there. In the afternoon mothers bring their little girls, dressed in white as for a confirmation, with white crowns on their hair, to the Templo Mayor. Each child offers a bouquet of flowers to the Virgin.[1]

December 11.—The *chirimía* plays again.

December 12.—This is the day of the *fiesta* of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe. The usual *chirimía*, bells, and rockets celebrate the *fiesta*. This is not an important *fiesta* in Tepoztlán, although the Virgin of Guadalupe is the patron of the Indians of Mexico. Some from Tepoztlán go to the great celebration at Guadalupe.

The attention of the community is focused on the harvest. Almost every man is working in the fields. The carpenter neglects his bench, the iron worker his forge. The corn factors have arranged counters in the doors of their houses. There they receive the corn as it is brought them, measuring it out in small wooden

[1] They do this again in May (the *mes de María*); and in June little boys bring flowers to the *Sagrado Corazón de Jesús*.

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

scoops, paying perhaps eight or nine *centavos* a *cuartillo*.

By the third week in December the fields below the town are still and empty. The last loads carried by the *burros* are of round green squashes, grown among the corn. Into some fields the cattle are turned to forage. Above the town, where the fields ripen later, the harvesting continues, but the work is on the wane. There is time to rest now, and enjoy the Christmas *fiestas*. Preparations are under way. In many houses, particularly in those nearest the *plaza*, where Spanish influence is strongest and where there may be a little money to spend, the nine *posadas* are celebrated as they are celebrated all over Mexico. By this time the matrons of the neighborhood have arranged in whose house will take place each of the nine *fiestas*. Nine women will take turns as hostess, dividing the responsibility and the expense. Someone has gone to Oacalco for sugar cane, to Yautepec for peanuts. The women are making little paper baskets (*alcartazes*) to hold candies and peanuts.

It is not in one of the larger houses near the *plaza* that boys are learning to sing the songs of *Los Pastores*. In the yard of a smaller, more Indian house in some street off the *plaza* a score or more of boys are seated on the ground learning the songs from a *maestro* who is the repository of this local tradition.

The *mayordomos*, with their assistants, decorate the chapels with flowers and cedar boughs and colored tissue paper. People cut branches of poinsettia, now

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

very abundant, and bring them to Mexico City for sale. [796* 439]

December 16.—The first of the *posadas* takes place on this date. At dusk the flare and boom of rockets make known the houses where the *fiestas* will be celebrated. Little groups of youths and men drift to the wall, to laugh and whisper and stare over the wall. The first part of the *fiesta* is religious, and it is not good form for men outside the family to take part. Behind the wall Mary and Joseph seek a lodging for the night. A candle-lit procession, bearing on a litter small wax and paper figures of the Holy Family, waits outside the door. The ritual dialogue is repeated; the wayfarers, begging admittance, are challenged from within. It is all done gravely and with feeling; no one relaxes his serious attention. At last the door opens; the procession passes into the house. As the candles pass one by one into the house the yard darkens while the glow now streams out of the cracks in the door. The men move closer to the door. [541]

Inside the matron of the house leads the prayers and responses. The images are placed behind candles, as at an altar. All the women remain kneeling, repeating the prayers. Suddenly the prayers cease, to give way to the gay *piñata* song. [782] [533]

The ritual of worship ends; the ritual of play begins. The door opens; some of the men go in. The mistress of the house distributes the *alcartazes*. Everyone is given a handful of sugar-cane joints, another of *tejocotes*, another of peanuts. The party goes out again [262]

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

into the yard; there is no procession now; people talk and laugh. A pottery jar, an *olla*, hung with tissue-paper streamers, is suspended about seven feet from the ground. This is the *piñata*. The smallest children, blindfolded, are first given a chance to break the *piñata* with a stick. They are turned about to confuse their sense of direction. Too good an aim is at first discouraged; a proper climax must be reached. When at last the jar is broken the children scramble in the dust for the scattered candies.

December 16–24.—The festal feeling grows during the nine nights of the *posadas*. The few gasoline street lamps, purchased by some of the neighborhoods, usually left dark, are burning in the street corners. More people are in the streets now after nightfall. The fireworks-makers are busy, selling the rockets they have been making for the *fiestas*. Every evening, in half-a-dozen places in the village, sheaves of light burst suddenly into the night. Some of the chapels are open; women come to pray or to light another candle. In the chapel of La Santísima, and perhaps in that of Santa Cruz, two *barrios* where Catholic religious ritual is most likely to be observed, there are *posadas* which the *mayordomo* of the *santo* has arranged. Then the procession moves slowly around the churchyard to the "old music." Mary and Joseph seek a lodging at the door of the chapel; admitted, the effigies are carried up to the altar. The prayers are said, and, as elsewhere, when the *piñata* song is sung, men who have been waiting outside the churchyard come in. The

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

prayers give way to play; the temple becomes the scene of a party.

December 23.—Pilgrims pass through Tepoztlán on their way to the shrine at Chalma. They carry staffs surmounted by the cross, or baskets of food; some bear flutes and drums. Some sing *alabados* ("chants of praise") as they go. They pause in houses along their road to rest and gossip. At midnight a few from Tepoztlán take the road for Chalma.

December 24.—This is *la Noche Buena*. In the morning women come to the market place to sell *tetzmixochitl*. There are two kinds, red[1] and yellow.[2] This is the only day in the year when these flowers are sold. They are used to prepare the altar at which at midnight the newborn Christ—a small doll—is put to bed. He is the "child God" (*el niño Dios*), "the divine child" (*teopiltzintli*). Girls and women buy these flowers; with these and cedar boughs the shrine is made. At night, after the last *posada*, people do not go to bed. There are lights in many houses; the chapels remain open. At midnight, in some homes and chapels, the Christ child is laid in his cradle behind the candles lit to him. The women kneel and sing the traditional lullaby.[3]

Before midnight people are out in the streets, waiting for *Los Pastores*. The festal feeling has accumulated; everyone is intent on the midnight ceremonies.

[1] *Sedum dendroicum* Moc. and Sessi.

[2] *Sedum sp.*

[3] Printed in *Mexican Folkways*, Vol. II, No. 5 (Dec.–Jan., 1926).

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

An essential part of the treatment is the conciliation of the offended spirits. The Nahuatl name for the disease is *yehyecahuiliztli* ("wind disease"). The word for "winds" is simply *yehyecame*. But when the spirits are referred to, they are described with the very respectful suffix *yehyecatzitzin*. The conciliation consists in leaving gifts to *los aires* at the place where these spirits became offended, and where, consequently, the disease was contracted. It is the *curandera* who arranges the gift and takes it to the ravine or washing-place. The offering must include *tamales*, and often other food and cigarettes. An apparently invariable part of the gift is a doll. This is usually locally made, of bits of cloth. It should have red cheeks. Somewhere about it is tied a bit of colored yarn. "*Los aires* would not take the gift without this."

I had *los aires* when I was younger. They came because I went to Axihtla and there I washed my whole body. So *granos* came all over my body. See, there are still a few here on my hand. My mother went to an *ancianita* and asked her to cure me. We paid the *ancianita* four *pesos* and besides we had to pay for the gifts to *los aires*. She steeped *alta reina* and *mirto*[1] in a bowl. My father smoked a cigarette and mixed the smoke with the herbs. Then the *ancianita* washed my body, carefully, with the herbs. Then the cigarette was taken out of doors and thrown over the house. The herbs were wrapped in cornhusks and thrown over the house too. This is always done. Otherwise *los aires* would come to anyone who might pick up the herbs.

The *ancianita* took the gifts to the water tank at Axihtla and left them there for *los aires*. She took a doll, two limes, an orange, three toys of clay, and four cigarettes tied with yarn. After a while I got well.

[1] The herbs just named.

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

Sometimes *los aires* demand a chicken [*Piden un pollo*]. Then you take a live chicken and tie it by the water tank or wherever the sickness came, and leave it there until it dies. If you ate it yourself you would die.[1]

Los aires are apparently the extant representatives of some or all of the many specialized deities of disease of the ancient Aztecs. The change they have undergone is that experienced by the European gods that became fairies and goblins. It would seem that the *ahuahque*[2] are also the descendants of pre-Columbian deities;[3] but so far as the present materials go,[4] the

[1] Told by a girl about thirteen years old, a *tonta*. [2] See p. 121.

[3] It seems probable that *los aires* are in part, at least, the *tlaloques*, the minor gods of rain. The doll is probably the twentieth-century manifestation of the dough images offered in propitiation. "Todos los montes eminentes, especialmente donde se arman nublados para llover, imaginaban que eran dioses y a cada uno de ellos hacían su imagen según la idea que tenían de los tales. Tenían también imaginación de que ciertas enfermedades acometían, hacían voto de hacer fiesta y ofrenda a tal o tal monte de quien estaba mas cerca, o con quien tenía mas devoción. También hacían semejante voto aquellos que se veían en algun peligro de ahogarse en el agua de los rios, o de la mar. Las enfermedades porque hacían dichos votos era la gota de las manos, o de las pies o de cualquiera parte del cuerpo, y también el tullimiento de algun miembro, o de todo el cuerpo; también el embaramiento del pezcuezo, o de otra parte o encogimiento de algun miembro, o el pararse yerto. Estos tales a quienes estas enfermedades acontecían, hacían voto de hacer las imagines de los dioses que se siguen: a saber del dios del aire, de la del agua, y del dios de la lluvia . . . ." (Sahagun, Book I, chap. xxi). Sahagun goes on to tell how the afflicted one asked the priest to prepare and offer the image and describes the ceremony then held.

Probably other ancient gods contribute to the present folk concept. "Estas diosas llamadas Civapipilti eran todas las mugeres que morían del primer parto, a las cuales canonizaban por diosas, según esta escrito en el 6 libro, en el capitulo 28; . . . . estas diosas andan juntas por el aire, y aparecen cuando quieren a los niños y niñas los empecen con enfermedades, como es dandolas mal de perlesía, y entrando en los cuerpos humanos. Decían que andaban en las encrucijadas de los caminos, y por esto les padres y madres vedaban a sus hijos y hijas que en ciertas días del año en que tenían que descendían estas diosas, no saliesen fuera de casa, porque no topasan con ellos, y no les hiciesen algun daño . . . ." (*ibid.*, chap. x).

[4] But see Frances Toor, art., "Cures and Medicine Women," p. 18.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

blanco, *pepitillo blanco*, and *semilla azul*.[8] *Ancho blanco* is the most widely used corn; *pepitillo* is used only in the heavier clay soils. *Semilla azul* is used for replanting cornfields which have not germinated, because it ripens faster and catches up with the earlier plantings. 243 [242]

A large number of Tepoztecans still follow the custom of having the seed blessed by the priest on the day of San Isidro, May fifteenth. Generally the women take the corn to the church. Each woman selects about ten of the finest ears of corn, as well as some of her best beans and squash. She may also take along some copal and a censer. As many as two hundred women may attend this blessing. As they burn the incense in the church, the priest comes out and blesses the seed with holy water. The ears of corn which have been blessed are to be placed in the milpas to rot and must not be burned, or the seed will not grow. 243 788 [244] [782]

The ancient custom of addressing the seed in Náhuatl, before planting, is still remembered by most men over age fifty. Many informants recall that their grandfathers spoke to the corn in a short formal ritual, before planting. The ceremony in the fields was often accompanied by great emotion and even weeping. One of these speeches translated from the Náhuatl follows: 243 788 178

"My beloved body and strength, go and bear the cold and the storm of the seasons; all is for us." [9] [539]

Today a similar ritual is still followed by a relatively small number of Tepoztecans, except that the recitations include references to God and are said in Spanish. The following are examples of present-day blessings:

God bless you. I bury you and if you return while I still live the satisfaction will be mine; if not then my descendants. [539]

In the name of God I am going to plant this seed. I implore Thee to bless my work.

Bless your sainted name God Our Father who is the first one to care for us. From here you go out and from where you go out God wishes you to return. For I am going to throw you into the field and you will remain only with the blessing of God. And may God free you so that we all will have something.

In planting corn, two men and one team of oxen are the minimum requirement. More than one team is rarely employed on a single field. However, two or three men may be used if the owner has a large family or can afford to hire *peones*. In planting on land that has been newly broken, the plow is always pulled at right angles to the existing furrows. One man, the oxen driver, leads the oxen while another man follows and drops four seeds in the furrow for each plant at a space of about a pace apart. The seed is dropped in front of the left toe, and the dirt is pushed over the seeds with the right foot. In planting the first few seeds, some Tepoztecans still follow the old custom of making the sign of the cross with their hand as they drop the seeds. Older men believe that planting one day after the 243 492 243 [788] [821]

[8] See Appendix A, p. 449.

[9] "Notlashocuyo yocatnia xamohui-xtetu quixquich ecquixtli tonalli huan yecatl timoschical huitiui tepampa."

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

pesos per year. Adding to this the cost of the pig, we have an expense of 212½ pesos. If the pig is sold for 225, there is a profit of only 12½ pesos after a year's work.

Raising pigs would seem to be more profitable, but the risk is also greater. A year-old breeder pig costs about 150 pesos, and feed for a year runs to 182½—a total expense of 332½ pesos. An average litter of eight, sold at 30 pesos each, gives an income of 240 pesos, providing there are no losses. This income can be obtained for three or four years in succession and then the pig can be fattened and sold for 250 to 300 pesos.

The price of livestock, like that of most other items, has increased greatly since the turn of the century. The sharpest increase has occurred since 1940. (See Table 40.)

TABLE 40. Price of Work Animals in Pesos, 1901–1944.

Years	Plow Oxen	Mules	Horses	Donkeys
1901–1910	40	60	35	15
1911–1920	35	30	25	15
1921–1925	50	100	40	20
1926–1930	60	125	50	25
1931–1935	65	125	60	25
1936	70	150	70	30
1937	75	170	75	30
1938	80	175	75	30
1939	85	180	80	30
1940	100	180	85	30
1941	110	200	100	35
1942	125	200	125	35
1943	200	200	125	50
June, 1944	400	300	200	75

Milk is sold locally by less than a dozen families. The local market consists of a small but increasing group of schoolteachers and Mexican tourists. Most of the milk produced is converted into cheese and sold in the village. It is estimated that a cow produces an average of two liters of milk daily during a period of seven months a year. At current prices of 45 centavos a liter, this would give an annual income of 159 pesos plus about 50 pesos for the value of the calf.

Cattle owners will often pay the priest to say a Mass for the protection of the cattle, and are expected to contribute generously to religious fiestas. When a cow or ox is sold, it is customary for the seller to use a portion of the money to light a candle to El Señor de Ixcatepec. When there are *jaripeos* and bullfights, the larger operators generally contribute bulls and money for *ponche* and fireworks.

Most cattle owners have an image of San Antonio, the patron saint of cattle, in their homes. Horseshoes are believed to bring good luck and are seen on the walls of many houses, especially in the homes of livestock owners.

To keep cattle from wandering away, it was customary for the owner to cut off hair from the ear of the cow or ox and bury it under the hearth. This was done

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

earth. Most of the younger people of the village view beds as a desirable luxury. Pillows, mattresses, pillowcases, sheets, and bedspreads are found in only a few Tepoztecan homes. A wool serape is all the bedding known to the majority of the population.

Sleeping arrangements vary somewhat from family to family, but the most widespread custom is for the parents to share their *petate* with the children of about two to six years of age who sleep between them. This is also true when a bed is used. The nursing baby sleeps on the other side, next to the mother. Cradles are used only during the day. Older children sleep apart, the girls sharing one *petate* and the boys another. In homes with more than one room the parents and small children sleep in one room and the older children in the other; in few homes are there enough rooms to permit the separation of older brothers and sisters. Sometimes parents are embarrassed to lie down together in the presence of their children, and the mother sleeps with the daughters while the father sleeps with the sons.

Most homes have a makeshift altar in the main room of the house. This is usually a table on which are placed candles, flowers, incense burners, and images of saints. These images are highly prized and occupy a prominent place in the home. Some families have large images of Jesus, Mary, or one of the saints, which have been in the family for many generations. Religious pictures are hung on the wall over the table, and frequently there are tissue paper decorations arranged around the table. (See Fig. 39.)

Wooden boxes and one or two wooden chests are used for storage of clothing, blankets, and other personal property. Extra clothing in regular use is hung on

Fig. 39. A domestic altar.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

religion: 11

At the time of the Spanish Conquest Tepoztlán had been under the domination and influence of the Aztecs for about one hundred years, and had absorbed much of Aztec culture. Tepoztecans paid homage to Aztec gods and practiced the Aztec rites of human sacrifice. But before the conquest by the armies of Tenochtitlán, Tepoztecans worshipped the more benign gods of the Toltecs which did not involve human sacrifice. As late as 1580, Tepoztecans still conserved the memory of this pre-Aztec period. This is learned from the oft-cited *Relación de Tepuztlan* of 1580, containing the following passage on Tepoztecan religion:

> That anciently they made offerings to their gods, of paper, quail, wild pigeons and copal, until the Mexicans came; then they observed their customs. When they went to war they cut through the heart [of prisoners] and offered them to their gods; they [the prisoners] belonged to those who had captured them. When it began to thunder and they wanted rain they bought two or three small children, took them to a high peak, and when it began to rain and thunder they tore out the heart and the blood was offered to the rains so that it would rain much; for this purpose they would first keep the bought children for thirty or forty days; in the case of an aduk, on the day he was sacrificed they dressed him very well and they led him singing and dancing unto where the idol stood and there, having invited many neighboring villagers, since it was a great fiesta, they drank and slit open his breast and tore out the heart and the blood and offered him to the gods; and they threw the body down below and later they cut up the body and offered pieces of it to the warriors.[1]

Here we find a description of a typical Aztec ceremony very similar to the description by Sahagún. This indicates that the rain god, Tlaloc, and the war god, Huitzilopochtli, were worshipped in Tepoztlán before the Conquest. To the first, children were sacrificed; to the second, adults.

But Tepoztlán also had its own special cult of Ometochtli (Two Rabbits), the god of pulque (Fig. 49) whose fame extended throughout the Aztec empire. Indeed, Tepoztlán was a very important religious center during this time. A sixteenth century Dominican chronicler tells us that Ometochtli was a

[1] *Relación*, p. 241.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

722 794 [793] [782]

Rojas, still resided in Mexico City and refused to return for fear of attack by the revolutionaries. During his absence some of his functions were carried on by *rezanderos*, laymen who knew from memory a great number of prayers for different occasions, such as for a dying man, a difficult delivery, the reappearance of lost or stolen articles, good crops, avoiding arguments in the family, keeping the husband from drinking too much, and so on. The *rezanderos* were kept busy in those difficult days and earned a comfortable income.

[793]

In the absence of the regular priest, a young priest was sent to the village in 1919. He energetically set about to put the church in order. He appointed new *mayordomos* of the *cofradías*, a new leader of the Asociación de la Divina Providencia, and a church *cantor*. But Tepoztecans seemed to have forgotten Catholic practices during the Revolution, and hardly anyone went to confession or Mass—despite the exhortations and threats of the Father.

[783] [796]

608 794 795 [783]

The only practice the villagers still conscientiously clung to was baptism, and they were eager to baptize the children born during the Revolution. To get the people to attend church once more, the priest refused to baptize any child until the godparents were confessed. But Tepoztecans had forgotten the prayers and the formalities of confession and were afraid and embarrassed to appear before the priest. As a result, they were unwilling to become godparents. Parents were then forced to ask the few *rezanderos* who had kept their connections with the church to be the *padrinos* of their children. These men eventually monopolized the godparentage of the village and even came to charge for this service. One *rezandero* had about one hundred godchildren. Needless to say, the *rezanderos* were unable and unwilling to fulfill their obligations as godfathers, and scarcely recognized their godchildren. The parents considered the original godparent of their choice as the true godparent, rather than the *padrinos rezanderos* who were forced upon them.

794 [793] [795]

When the village was more peaceful the regular priest returned with some of the *cacique* families, and religious life became normal once again—but without its former splendor. Fiestas were again celebrated, the popular Carnaval again held. The ban against baptism without confession was lifted and anyone might serve as godparent.

But the new tranquillity was soon to be shattered, this time by the Catholic Church which feared restraining measures of the post-revolutionary government. The church adopted a policy of non-cooperation and active resistance. On July 31, 1926, the archbishop of Mexico ordered all priests to leave the churches and to cease public religious services. Faithful Catholics were called upon to withdraw their children from the public schools to protect them from "socialist teaching." Priests were instructed to give Mass and to administer the sacraments in a clandestine manner.

[793] [796]

In Tepoztlán these church orders resulted in the priest's once again leaving for Mexico City, and religious activity waned. The most important prayers and ceremonies were conducted secretly by one of the more able *rezanderos*, Don Francisco

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

794
533
465
782
465
115
665
621
575
794
789

and in leading the hymns and *Te Deums*. He is paid one peso for each Mass and fifty centavos for each *Te Deum*.

(3) The *rezanderos* are men who make a vocation of religion by memorizing many prayers and hiring themselves out to intone these prayers for others on special occasions. For example, if someone loses a horse or cow and wishes to ask San Pedro to help him find the animal he will pay one or two pesos to a *rezandero* to go to the chapel in the barrio of San Pedro and recite the appropriate prayer.

Although the *rezandero* is not recognized by the church as a functionary he is thought of as such by the populace. Some *rezanderos* play an important role in local religious life and enjoy certain prestige. The more skilled have a large repertory of prayers and deliver them with the impressive skill of a priest. It is interesting to note that the two most important *rezanderos*, both of whom were our informants, were also political leaders; one in the Cristero movement, the other in the opposing leftist group. The latter, incidentally, became the first Protestant in Tepoztlán. At present there are approximately ten *rezanderos* in the village and the majority of these live in the barrio of Santo Domingo.

(4) The members and respective officers of the religious associations are a type of lay church functionaries. Many of these associations were founded in colonial times and had a long history of ups and downs. They suffered misfortunes during the struggle for independence and during the Reform and the Revolution but were always reorganized in times of peace. Some of these associations are national and international in character, such as the Asociación Guadalupana, the Apostolado de la Oración, and the Acción Católica; others are essentially local and lack external ties. We shall describe the more important of these organizations.

a) The Asociación de la Vela Perpetua, the objective of which is to give homage to the *Santísimo Sacramento* by permanently maintaining a lighted candle on the altar. The Asociación consists of thirty-one women who identify themselves by wearing a medal suspended on a white ribbon. Each member dedicates one day a month to keeping vigil at the altar. Membership is limited to the maximum number of days in a month and this society is considered honorific and select. In the days of Díaz only the wives of *caciques* were members. The organization has a president, secretary, and treasurer; apart from its routine religious activity, this society serves no other social function.

b) Asociación del Apostolado de la Oración celebrates the first Friday of each month. Although men may join, the present membership consists of twenty-five to thirty women. The distinguishing mark is a medal worn on a red ribbon. It is interesting to note that although this organization has different levels of membership to stimulate the mystic devotion of its members, in Tepoztlán the members fulfill only the rituals of the first order without aspiring to the superior orders.

c) Asociación Guadalupana celebrates the twelfth day of each month in honor of the Virgin of Guadalupe. Membership is made up of thirty women.

d) The Cofradía de la Virgen del Carmen is a sisterhood of about thirty women who celebrate the sixteenth day of each month. The scapulary of the Virgen del

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

pesos from such Masses, giving a total of 2,875 pesos as income from Masses for the dead.

The ten religious associations in the village are each obliged to pay for 12 Masses a year in honor of the particular patron saint of the association. Their Masses are always sung and followed by a sermon and should cost 40 pesos, but the priest gives them a special price and charges only 25 pesos. The income from 120 Masses is, therefore, 3,000 pesos a year. On Sundays and holy days the priest says two Masses which are free of charge. However, those who assist Mass are expected to make some contribution. Assuming that an average of 150 persons assist weekly at each of the two Masses and that each contributes ten centavos, we get a weekly income of 30 pesos. If we add eight days for special holy days to the 52 Sundays, we get 60 days with an income of 30 pesos daily, or 1,800 pesos a year. In addition, approximately 100 persons attend church daily and contribute about 10 centavos each, making an annual total of 3,650 pesos. In summary then, we find a total of 11,325 pesos received from Masses, as follows:

Masses for the dead	2,875
Masses for the religious associations	3,000
Masses on Sundays and holy days	1,800
Daily Masses	3,650
Total	11,325

FIESTAS

The priest charges 75 pesos for officiating at each barrio fiesta and at the village fiestas. For this price he says three Masses and a sermon. With seven barrios and seven villages he has an income of 1,575 pesos a year.

OTHER SOURCES

The priest charges 20 centavos for praying the *evangelios* and 20 centavos for singing the responses. In addition he has occasional income from extraordinary requests for prayers or Masses. Informants who aided us with this study of church income estimate about 300 pesos as a minimum from these sources. In summary we find the total church income as follows:

Income from baptisms	956
Income from *amonitas*	408
Income from marriages	426
Income from ritual for the dead	2,705
Income from Masses	11,325
Income from barrio and village fiestas	1,575
Income from other sources	300
Total	17,695

2;Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

771 learn to attend Mass, to confess, and to take communion more often than is customary in the village.

788 Prayers for various occasions are memorized by Tepoztecans. The older generation learn them in Náhuatl, the younger in Spanish. The people do not know how [782] to improvise prayers, and when their memory fails they prefer to keep silent, or merely cross themselves, or kiss a scapulary to invoke the protection of the appropriate saint. The obligatory morning prayers are seldom said with regularity. Some of the old people still say a prayer at noon when the bell of the municipal clock strikes; the men remove their hats and give thanks to God because they still have strength to work. When the evening church bell rings, the men are again supposed to take off their hats and the women to kneel to give thanks because the day has passed without mishap. We cannot estimate the number of people who fulfill the latter obligation, but in all the time we were in the village we never observed anyone kneeling in prayer outside the church. But men returning home from the fields lift their hats respectfully whenever they pass a cross, and on the bus from Tepoztlán to Cuernavaca all hats go up in unison each time a church is passed. [782] Some Tepoztecans recite prayers on special occasions, such as planting corn, lighting a charcoal furnace, or pruning a tree.

794 As indicated earlier, most Tepoztecans do not feel strongly the need to attend 796 Mass every Sunday or even on holy days. On the basis of our own observations and informants' estimates, it appears that, on the average, about two hundred, mostly women, attend church on Sundays. The 6:00 A.M. Mass is preferred; those who attend the 8:00 A.M. Mass risk being called lazy. Mass, like other public gath- [883] erings, is a welcome form of diversion. It is one of the opportunities for sweethearts to see one another; young people are said to attend not out of devotion but to flirt. [292] Everyone puts on his best clothes for Mass. The older men wear huaraches, white *calzones*, and shirts; the youths wear trousers and modern shirts, and many wear jackets. The women use *rebozos* to cover their heads. Upon entering the church, [788] the women cross themselves with holy water and take seats up toward the front. The men generally do not cross themselves and remain in the rear. Some of the youths stand at one side of the nave, leaning against the pillars so as to be able to see the girls during the service. The children sit with their mothers and sisters. Five- and ten-centavo pieces are dropped into the plate passed by the sacristan.

After Mass the young men are the first to leave. They remain at the church door, talking, joking, and laughing quietly among themselves, until the girls appear. The older men are the next to leave the church, and then the women. Most of the men [273] go off to drink, while the women go home in little groups of relatives.

527 Tepoztecans do not rigorously observe Sunday or other holy days as days of rest. During planting and harvesting, everyone works in the fields, and the store- 796 keepers in the center who profit by the week-end tourist trade always work on Sundays and holidays. Informants say, "It is no sin to work on Sunday when it is done out of necessity." Some of the very old people believe that he who works on Sunday ruins himself economically for the rest of the week.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

Tepoztecans do not like to confess; the majority do so only once a year. Not giving much importance to sin, Tepoztecans do not regard confession as necessary. Most men consider confession important only when one is about to die but "with the pangs of death, who's going to remember to confess properly?" Women, particularly married women, are less reluctant to confess, and about fifty women are known to take communion and confess quite often. Through the Acción Católica the number of young people of both sexes who do this has increased. Perhaps the most important deterrent to confession, especially among the older people, is that the priest may exact from the confessor the recitation of certain prayers which most people cannot say accurately. Fearing a scolding from the priest, they prefer to avoid the situation. There is no such difficulty with communion. "We would all take communion more often if we didn't have to confess; that we always avoid."

In general, the Tepoztecan feels obliged to contribute to the church and does so by paying *limosnas*. There is a belief that he who refuses to give alms will find that no one receives his soul in heaven and that therefore he must go to hell. He who always gives alms finds that when he dies and his soul goes to heaven, "the Saint to whom he has given alms comes to receive the soul and intercedes with God to allow him to enter, and so he gets to heaven." Thus, when a Tepoztecan lights a candle to some saint or deposits a coin or two in the box, he considers himself deserving of the protection of that saint.

Tithes, which were obligatory and were collected by the government for the church before the Revolution, no longer exist. The local priest, however, hires a *limosnero* at harvest time to go about the fields, riding on a mule, to collect contributions from the farmers. As a rule, each farmer gives about twelve ears of corn, so that the priest collects a good amount for his stores.

Religious beliefs in Tepoztlán reflect Tepoztecan social character and world view. The profoundly practical nature of Tepoztecans precludes religious fantasy, mysticism, and any preoccupation with metaphysics; they seek from religion concrete solutions to problems of daily life and go about it in as direct a manner as their religion permits. Their religious world, like the world in which they live, is full of hostile forces and punishing figures which must be propitiated to secure good will and protection. The act of propitiation is direct and simple, consisting of giving something or doing something which is known to please a particular saint, such as lighting a candle, giving a few coins, offering flowers, burning incense, reciting a special prayer, or performing a certain dance; these offerings incur an obligation on the part of the recipient to favor the donor.

As in most mestizo communities in Mexico and Central America, Tepoztecan religious beliefs represent a fusion of Catholic and pagan elements. The people's concept of God is vague at best; the one characteristic which is clear to Tepoztecans is that he is a punishing God who acts in ways hostile to men. Most misfortunes are ascribed to him; good fortune rarely.

The Holy Trinity is viewed as consisting of three distinct gods. One is God the Father, who is usually pictured with a long, white beard and a large ball in his

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

with a suit of fine cloth." He is almost always met on lonely roads or in the woods during the night. To combat his evil influence, Tepoztecans recite a prayer to some saint, especially to St. Michael and St. Gabriel. When a Tepoztecan brings an offering to St. Michael he considers it necessary to light a candle to the devil as well, even though it be a small candle, so that he will not be angered.

Despite four hundred years of Catholicism, most Tepoztecans do not yet have a clear concept of the Catholic heaven and hell. According to Aztec religion the equivalent of heaven was a pleasant place where dead warriors and women who died in childbirth went to live. The existence of hell as a place for expiating sins committed in life was totally unknown. There was only Mictlán, the region of the dead, where souls continued to live the same life as they had on earth. Tepoztecans have no concept of eternal punishment. Hell is a form of purgatory to which only the greatest sinners are sentenced. Ordinary people do not fear hell, for "the temperate ones, those who believe in God, those who have done some good," go to heaven. The threat of hell is chiefly used to control the conduct of children; adults are not generally concerned with life after death.

Tepoztecans view heaven simply as a place of glory, "that is, a place where one has no necessities." Although hell may be described as "a place where there is a lot of fire and where sinners are burned," Tepoztecans do not actually view hell this way. To them going to hell means being condemned to wander over the earth at night, dragging chains until the period of punishment and suffering is over and the soul is admitted to heaven. Many accounts of such punishment are told in the village. The following is typical:

> A woman who was a witch didn't leave her property well distributed, nor any written directions about it. Her children did not know what belonged to each and wanted to give the younger brother only a small share. He didn't agree to this, and it would have been better if he had, for after that every night at a late hour the children heard chains dragging and the sound of weeping. The sounds stopped at the door of their house and then began again. The brother consulted several people, and they advised him to confess and tell the priest what he had heard. He did this, and the priest told him to wait a day, and he would tell him where he would find his mother. The next day the priest said he could not locate his mother, but that he should go to where they sent the bones from the butcher's. He did so, and at midnight he found his mother tied to a post with a strong chain. When she saw him, she began to cry and told him that if he did not wish to see her in this state, he should accept the small share. The son was convinced and took his portion of the inheritance and after that they never again heard the noise, and the mother ceased to suffer

All accounts include the dragging of chains by the soul and the scene at the slaughterhouse. The soul is released from suffering by some of the living who make up for the sins of the dead.

The saints are viewed as intermediaries with God, and Tepoztecans devote themselves to cultivating their favor. The saints are endowed with personal qualities, and their images are worshipped directly as divine beings rather than as mere symbols of living saints. This is evident when, in times of drought, the saints of

776 [782] 775 776 778 [821]

1/ [i.e. - the "devil's" evil influence ANALYST]

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

him revert to human form. *Naguales* have the power to enter houses, even when doors are closed, can steal anything, and can quietly carry off girls by putting them into a deep sleep. To prevent thefts by *Naguales* a cross is marked on the bottom of *metates* which then become too heavy for the *Nagual* to lift. Some *Naguales* will steal girls for a sum of money. *Naguales* cannot be wounded by a knife or a gun, and it is impossible to hit them or throw stones at them because of a secret power which defends them. Some people believe that El Tepozteco can turn himself into a *Nagual* and that he is their chief.

Los aires are mysterious forces, variously thought of as winds, spirits, or little people who may cause sores, pimples, paralysis, and other illnesses. They are found in stream beds, ravines, in stagnant pools, and atop the highest hills. Tepoztecans are careful to avoid *los aires* and not to offend them. Some old women still say certain Náhuatl phrases asking permission of *los aires* to take water from the stream. Those who must pass by stagnant water after bathing in a *temascal* must drop some of the leaves, with which they dried themselves, into the pool in order to avoid headaches, earaches, or watering of the eyes. To get rid of these afflictions one must be cleansed with salt and yarrow leaves which are afterward thrown into the middle of the street. Sometimes when a person eats beside a stream or near a ravine, he will be attacked by *los aires* and will have a headache and fever. The illness is treated by cleansing the person with herbs, which are then thrown into the stream or ravine. If the sick person continues to have fever and dreams of canes, water, or food, it means that *los aires* struck him very hard and must be fed. *Mole*, tamales, and fruit are prepared, and a special loaf of bread in the shape of a doll is ordered from the baker. The doll is decorated in red, and the meal, adorned with red crepe paper, is carried to the suspected stream and left there.[10]

Los aires are also believed to take refuge in anthills, and one who disturbs an anthill may suffer grave injury. For this reason no Tepoztecan dares open an anthill to remove the queen ant, despite the fact that the local variety of ants is very voracious and can destroy an entire cornfield. When a farmer discovers an anthill in his field he will place food, such as mango leaves, around the hole, so that the ants will not eat the corn. The farmers sometimes place poisonous leaves at an anthill, but the ants soon learn not to eat them. Some of the more advanced farmers use chemical products including D.D.T. to kill the ants but even the most educated will not open an anthill.

Informants relate that not long ago a man, not of Tepoztlán, used to sell ant dung as fertilizer. He collected the material from anthills, but after six months of this work he fell ill, became badly crippled, and died. The same thing happened to the [illegible] of one of our informants; after opening an anthill he spent eight years in bed, crippled and inflamed from the effects of *los aires*.

Belief in good and bad omens continues in Tepoztlán. These beliefs are innu-

[10] In Redfield's account a real doll, with red cheeks and decorated with colored yarn, is used. The bread doll is more closely reminiscent of the dough images offered in propitiation in pre-Hispanic times.

2;Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

847 *curanderos* in other villages to "cure" themselves. However, the only approved method of limiting the number of pregnancies is to avoid intercourse as long as
842 possible after the birth of a child.

BIRTH

844 When the baby is expected, a curtain is hung to screen the bed of the expectant mother, and delivery takes place behind this. Poorer families hang up a *petate*. When labor pains begin, the midwife is called. Occasionally the husband will assist the wife, but the majority of women are embarrassed by his presence and insist that he leave. One of the underlying beliefs throughout the delivery is that difficulty is due to "cold" and that "heat" must be applied. The patient lies on a *petate* on the floor, and the midwife massages the abdomen, the back, and the hips, with various
[278] heated oils and unguents. These may be oil of violet, white lily, rosemary or al-
[780] monds, or *altea*, depending upon the midwife. The heat and the massage is to warm the infant, loosen it, and make it slip out more easily.

[278] The patient is then given a mixture of *tlatlauhcamotl* with chocolate, sherry, and egg, to make the labor pains stronger, or *pimienta gorda* is boiled and given. The abdomen is massaged and rubbed all the while, and the mother is wrapped in a blanket to make her perspire. A *ceñidor*, or sash, may be tightly bound around the waist at this time to keep the back from weakening and the bones from spreading and to prevent hemorrhage later. The patient may kneel at this stage, and the baby is delivered on the *petate* and wrapped by the midwife in a clean, warmed, old cloth. If it is a dry birth, the mother is given more *tlatlauhcamotl*. In cases of difficult
845 or delayed births, the family, at the suggestion of the midwife, may buy a candle for
782 the Virgen de Monserrat, the guardian of pregnant women. The patient measures four fingers on the candle, a mark is made at that point with a centavo, and the candle is put before the image. If delivery does not occur before the flame reaches the mark on the candle, the case is considered very grave.

845 Delayed births are sometimes attributed to the fact that the woman does not bear down at the proper time, and attempts are made to eject the child by provoking
[825] nausea and vomiting. This may be achieved by putting a chicken feather or the tail
[278] of an opossum into the woman's mouth.[10] The tail is sometimes cooked and given as a drink. The woman may also be given her husband's urine or the dirty soapy water in which he has washed his hands. It is believed that when a woman in labor breathes out or screams every time she feels pain, the child rises instead of descends. The mother is given something to bite on, usually her braid, and is told to keep her mouth closed. Even speaking is discouraged. It may be such practices, found in
[152] many parts of Mexico, which have led observers to describe Mexican Indian women as stoical during childbirth. In Tepoztlán, women frequently pray and scream when they suffer severe pains, and only the *más valientas* are quiet.

Difficult births and extended labor, sometimes over several days, are not uncom-

[171] [10] In Tzintzuntzan, the woman's braid is forced down her throat.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

Some Tepoztecans now have borrowed the customs of the city by having separate godparents for the giving of the hands (*padrino de mano*) and another pair of godparents for the nuptial Mass (*velación*), but most couples still follow the older custom of having only one set of godparents. In a few cases of highly acculturated families, the bride has a car waiting at the entrance of the church and the couple ride off for their honeymoon. Some informants expressed the opinion that the time is not far off when this custom will be widespread in Tepoztlán.

After the ceremony it is customary for the couple and the friends and relatives to return to the home of the *padrinos* where refreshments are served, and where the couple again receive marital advice from the godparents. At about noon the couple go to the groom's house. In the old days, it was usual for the couple to carry burning incense over the threshold, and I have seen this tradition carried out on two occasions. A dinner is given with *mole poblano* as the main dish. Many drinks are served, with beer taking the place of *ponche* in the more acculturated homes. After the festivities are over, the guests go home and the couple remain. Most couples do not sleep alone the first or subsequent nights because of crowded living conditions.

Church weddings are becoming increasingly costly, ranging from 300 to 1,000 pesos. Young people of both sexes look forward to having a fine church wedding. If the boy's parents approve of the girl, they will make a fine wedding, even if it means selling their animals or pawning their house. As one informant put it, "I exchanged my cows for a daughter-in-law." If parents are not willing or able to provide a suitable wedding, their son sometimes works and saves to do so himself. Saving for a wedding is much more common than saving to buy a team of oxen, a house, or something which will improve the boy's economic situation. The majority of Tepoztecan couples begin married life with little except their clothing and the satisfaction of having had a nice wedding.

BY FREE UNION

When a man and woman live together as husband and wife without either civil or church marriage, it is referred to as a free union (*unión libre*). The more acculturated Tepoztecans no longer regard this as a form of marriage. But there are many couples who have been living in free union for many years, and they are regarded as husband and wife by all concerned. The children of such marriages, if the parents record their birth in the local registry, have equal rights with other children in cases of legal disputes concerning property. During the days of the Revolution, when priests were unavailable and life was precarious, many people joined in free unions. But the existence of *uniones libres* cannot be explained simply as a phenomenon of the Revolution. Of the fifteen per cent of the couples living in free union in the village in 1940, about half of them were fairly young people, indicating that this type of marriage is not entirely going out.

An analysis of the free unions in the village reveals that the great number were second marriages for one or both of the spouses. In most cases the previous spouse

2;Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

D. *FIESTA CALENDAR OF TEPOZTLÁN*

796 Jan. 1. *Fiesta de Divina Providencia*,[1] celebrated in the central parish church: Candles burn in church all night. Members of the Adoración Nocturna keep vigil all night, and confess, and take communion at midnight Mass. Most Tepoztecans attend church on January 1 to petition (*las tres monedas*) the Divine Providence for food, clothing, and shelter for the year. A coin is dropped into the church box for each of the petitions. *Mole* and tamales with pork are eaten by many families; poor families eat tamales made with squash flowers. It is becoming customary for the younger generation to present parents with a small gift on this day.

[782] [264] [735] [431]

Jan. 6. *Fiesta of "The Kings,"* celebrated in Los Reyes: The secular aspects of this fiesta consist of the burning of "*toros*" and a *jaripeo*. This is not an important fiesta but popular with the children because they may receive gifts from their parents. This custom was introduced by the Colonia Tepozteca of Mexico City who used to distribute gifts to the poor children of the village.

Jan. 12. *Fiesta of the Virgin of Guadalupe*, celebrated in Santo Domingo: One of the two fiestas of this barrio. It was originally a secondary fiesta honoring the Virgin one month after her Saint Day, but has recently become rather elaborate and costly. The residents of the barrio have boasted that they have enough money to give two fine fiestas and to do fitting honor to the *Virgencita*. There is music and fireworks all the morning of January eleventh. On the twelfth and thirteenth, there is a *jaripeo* and a *torito*.

Following Sunday. *Fiesta of the Virgin of Guadalupe*, celebrated in Gabriel Mariaca: This village is obliged to postpone its festivities because they conflict with the barrio of Santo Domingo. Many Tepoztecans attend this fiesta.

Jan. 20. *Fiesta of San Sebastián*, celebrated in San Sebastián and La Calera: In this case the village of La Calera refuses to postpone its fiesta, so both are given the same day. The only unusual feature of this barrio fiesta is the *brinco* or dance by the *tixnados* or black-faced dancers. There are usually some fireworks and musicians.

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Feb. 2. *Fiesta of the Candlemas*, celebrated in the parish church and at some domestic altars: The raising the child Jesus for the *sacamisa*. A few families set off fireworks, hire musicians, and serve *mole*, chocolate, and cakes to the ceremonial godparents.

[264]

527 Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday preceding Lent.[2] *Fiesta of the Carnaval*, celebrated in the plaza of Tepoztlán: The church is open, but almost no one attends, as the fiesta is now largely secular. This is the most splendid fiesta in Tepoztlán and attracts visitors from far and near. Buses run every half hour on these days, and the local merchants do brisk business. It is estimated that 45,000 pesos were spent by villagers on the Carnaval of 1946. Most of the expenses are incurred in the purchase of new *chinelos* costumes by those who dance, in the buying of new clothing by almost everyone, in drinking and good eating, and in payment of the many bands of musicians who take turns playing. The three large barrios organize *comparsas*, groups of *chinelos* dancers, and compete with each other in the size of the group, elegance of costumes, and endurance in dancing. Most Tepoztecan youths aspire to dance at the Carnaval, and work hard to earn money to buy or rent a costume. The costumes have become more costly and elaborate with each passing year.

[535] [292]

[1] Our informants did not agree with those of Redfield, who designated this day as the fiesta of *Santa María de Tepoztlán*.

[2] Redfield reported six days of festivities for the Carnaval. During our stay, there were only three fiesta days.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

796 *Fiesta of Sixth Friday of Lent or Viernes de Dolores,* celebrated in the parish church: Fasting is required. This is the beginning of Holy Week.

785 *Fiesta of Sábado de Dolores,* celebrated in the parish church: This is celebrated with holy offices and a Vía Crucis procession.

778 821 755 *Fiesta of Palm Sunday,* celebrated in the parish church: This is a very important holiday. Tepoztecans take palm leaves to be blessed by the priest. It is believed that blessed palm protects against lightning. Ashes of blessed palm placed upon the head are thought to cure bad headaches. Blessed palm is also placed at the door of the house to prevent fires and being struck by lightning.

783 *Fiesta of Holy Monday and Holy Tuesday,* celebrated in the parish church: These are days of great devotion. The religious associations are very active, visiting the church and barrio chapels. Many Tepoztecans choose these days for their annual confession.

785 262 461 777 *Fiesta of Holy Wednesday:* Rigorous fasting begins. Meat is not eaten until the Saturday of Glory. Substitute foods are beans, *huauzontle, tortas,* stuffed peppers, fish, *revoltijo,* and lentils. All work must stop through the Sunday of Resurrection. Women prepare tortillas for the rest of the week. In the evening is the vigil of the Lord, the men taking turns all through the night. Women customarily go to church in the late afternoon to pray the thirty-three Credos, one for each year of Jesus' life. It is believed that those who do this will triple their earnings during the year.

788 *Holy Thursday:* The church is full on this day. The priest dramatically describes the passion of Christ, and crying on the part of women is common. Not to do so is "to have a cold heart." In the afternoon is the ceremonial foot-washing of the apostles.

861 *Holy Friday:* This is the culminating day of Holy Week. Throughout the village there is profound quietude. No one must run or shout or use bad words, so as not to offend the Lord. The men silently drink their *ponche* together while the women, dressed in black, go to church. On this day, children are not to be struck, for "it would be striking the Lord."

788 824 826 856 535 273 *Holy Saturday:* At 7:00 A.M. the faithful of the village and the municipio go to the church where the priest pronounces the "Gloria in Excelsis Deo." With this all the bells, which have been silent since Wednesday, are rung, and joy spreads through the village. While the bells ring, old men trim their plants so that they will produce more, mothers snip the ends of their daughter's hair to make it grow longer, and children are struck on the legs to make them grow taller. Two or three *comparsas* are organized to dance on this day.

Easter Sunday: Everyone dresses well and goes to Mass. Sometimes the *chinelos* leap in the afternoon. People stand in little groups in the plaza, and men drink a great deal.

April 29. *Fiesta of San Pedro,* celebrated in San Pedro: The only unusual feature of this fiesta is the group of children who dance for San Pedro.

May 1-31. All this month is dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and *rosarios* are held every afternoon. Girls from seven to fifteen years of age dress in white and bring flowers to the Virgin.

782 541 648 May 3. *Fiesta of Santa Cruz,* celebrated in Santa Cruz: This fiesta is celebrated not only in this barrio but in all homes and places having crosses. All crosses are adorned with flowers, especially Bougainvillaea. Incense is burned, and fireworks are set off. This fiesta is also celebrated in Ixcatepec, but is postponed until the following Sunday in deference to the barrio of Santa Cruz. It is one of the best attended fiestas. There are cockfights and visiting dancers from Yautepec and Milpa Alta.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

May 8. *Fiesta of San Miguel*, celebrated in San Miguel: This is one of the two annual fiestas of this barrio. As one of the larger barrios, it spends huge sums to have an impressive fiesta.

The following Thursday. *Fiesta of Thursday of the Ascensión*, celebrated in the parish church: This is a movable fiesta, which comes seven weeks after Holy Thursday. Mass is said in the large church, and fireworks are set off. The peasants must rest this day.

Ten days later. *Fiesta of Tlanepantla*, celebrated in Tlanepantla: A favorite fiesta of Tepoztecans, who carry *aguacate*, *cuajilote*, and *zapote blanco* for sale.

All of June is dedicated to the Sacred Heart of Jesus.

About June 12. *Fiesta of La Santísima*, celebrated in La Santísima: La Santísima, traditional rival of Santo Domingo, organizes an impressive fiesta, with the usual playing of the *chirimía*, and the eating of *mole* and tamales.

June 24. *Fiesta of Day of San Juan*, celebrated in San Juan: Boys and girls sing *mañanitas* to the image of San Juan at dawn. Then they visit houses where persons named Juan or Juanita live, and they sing *mañanitas*. In the afternoon, the young people go out to the fields to seek four-leaf clovers for luck.

June 29. *Fiesta of San Pedro*, celebrated in San Pedro: Similar to other fiestas.

July 16. *Fiesta of Day of Virgin of Carmen*, celebrated in the parish church: All who wear the scapulary of this virgin must attend Mass.

July 22. *Fiesta of Amatlán*, celebrated in Amatlán: Generally only about fifty Tepoztecans attend.

July 25. *Fiesta of Santiago*, celebrated in Santiago: During our visit about 150 persons from Tepoztlán attended.

Aug. 4. *Fiesta of Santo Domingo*, celebrated in Santo Domingo: An important fiesta which lasts three days. A band is hired in Mexico City for greater prestige. There are *toros*, cockfights, dancers, and fireworks.

Aug. 6. *Fiesta of San Salvador*, celebrated in Santa Cruz and Ixcatepec: Follows the usual patterns of barrio fiestas.

Aug. 15. *Fiesta of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary*, celebrated in Tejalpa.

Sept. 8. *Fiesta of the Virgin of the Natividad*, patron of Tepoztlán: This is one of the most important village-wide fiestas, combining pre-Hispanic and Catholic elements. The Catholic ceremony in honor of the Virgin takes place in the church; the honor to El Tepozteco takes place out of doors. A dance to El Tepozteco is held to the accompaniment of the ancient *teponaztle* and a traditional discourse of El Tepozteco in Náhuatl is spoken.

Sept. 28. *Day of the Blessing of the Pericón*, celebrated in the parish church and cornfields: This is an outing day for Tepoztecans who go out into the cornfields to roast fresh corn and place crosses of blessed *pericón* at the four corners of the milpas. Similar crosses are also placed in the homes, for it is believed that on this night the demons are loose, and the evil winds blow hard.

Sept. 29. *Fiesta of Barrio of San Miguel*, celebrated in San Miguel: Follows the tradition of other barrio fiestas.

Oct. 31. *All Saints' Day (Children)*, celebrated in the parish church, in the homes, and at the cemetery: Day in commemoration of dead children. A candle is lighted for the dead child, and incense is burned.[8]

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[8] See Redfield, *Tepoztlán*, for more detailed description.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

Nov. 1. *All Saints' Day (Adults):* Day in commemoration of the adult dead. Food is offered for the dead. The mother of the house says a prayer with the offering. A typical utterance is, "For thee, my son Juan, who has left us here so sad, here we leave thee thy food so that thee will not suffer hunger and so that thee will not forget to aid us in our misery." In this way an offering is made for each dead member of the family. The families then go to place flowers on the graves. "The usual offerings consist of tamales, rice, chicken, chocolate, *mole verde*, *mamones*, and fruits. . . . All night people keep awake. They pray, and call out the names of the dead. There are torches alight in the streets. The bells on the chapels strike the hours with double strikes. At four o'clock a group of men from each barrio go about asking food for the bell-ringers. People give a tamale and a dish of *mole*. At six in the morning the blessing is given, Mass is said, and the offering is eaten."[4]

Nov. 7. *Octava of the Dead (Children):* Again there is a commemoration of the dead children.

Nov. 8. *Octava of the Dead (Adults):* The offering and the vigil are repeated.

Nov. 9. *Cult of the Dead:* Mass is said in the parish church, and then the priest leads a procession to the cemetery where he prays for the dead. During the remainder of November the priest says Masses for the dead.

Dec. 8. *Fiesta of the Purísima Concepción*, celebrated in the parish church: In addition to the participation of the appropriate *cofradía*, all persons named Concha celebrate this day.

Dec. 12. *Day of the Virgin of Guadalupe*, celebrated in the parish church in Mexico City: The day before, Tepoztecans organize a pilgrimage to Mexico City to do homage to the Virgencita Tonantzin.

Dec. 17. *Days of the Posadas:* The traditional *posadas* begin on this day. The images of San José and the Virgin are borrowed from the large church, and the scenes of asking for lodging at the homes of those who have an image of the child Jesus are re-enacted.[5]

Dec. 24-25 *La Nochebuena*, celebrated in the parish church: In the evening the birth of the child Jesus is celebrated. The usual Catholic ceremony goes on in the church, with a midnight Mass.[6]

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 125.
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 129–31.
[6] *Ibid.*